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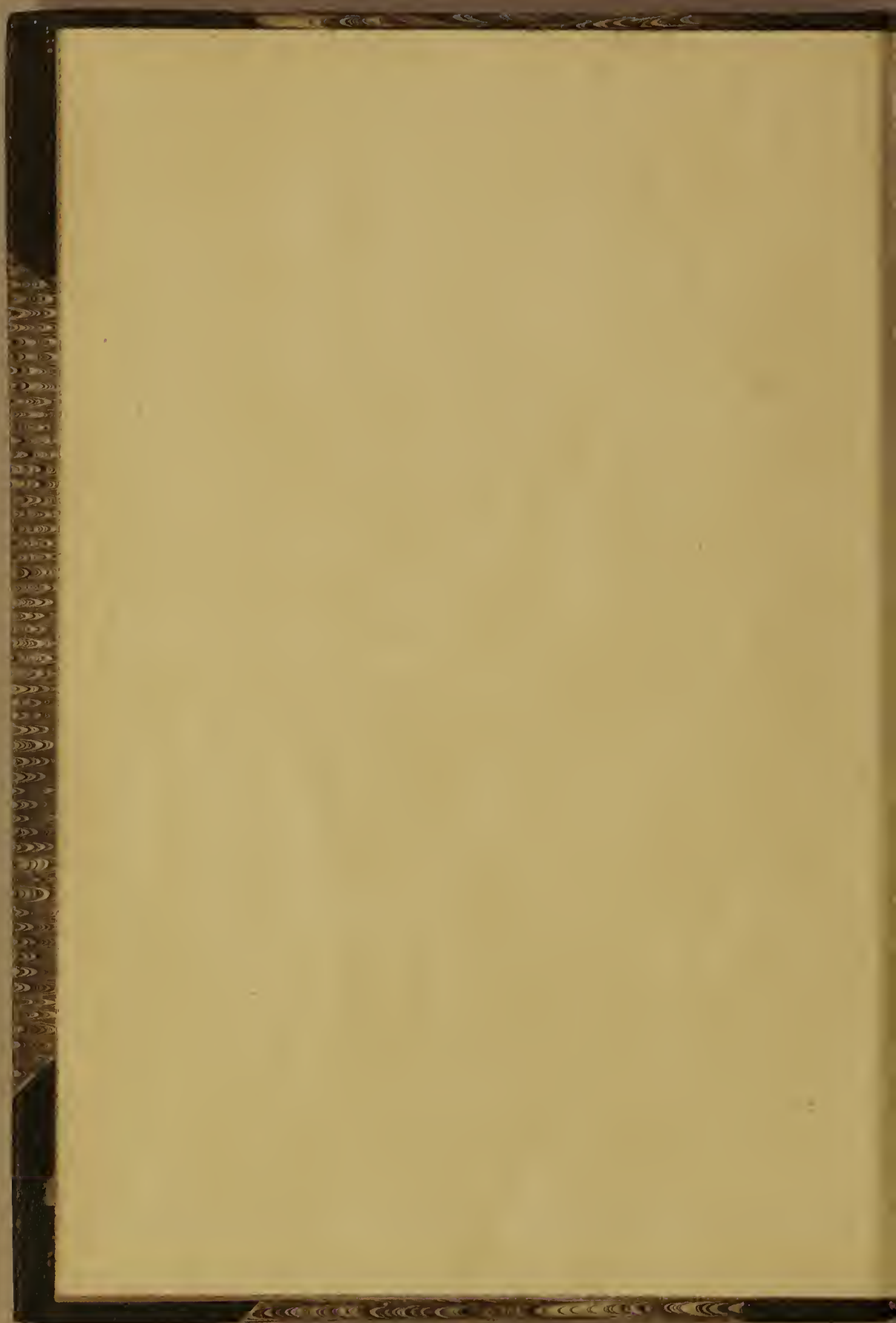
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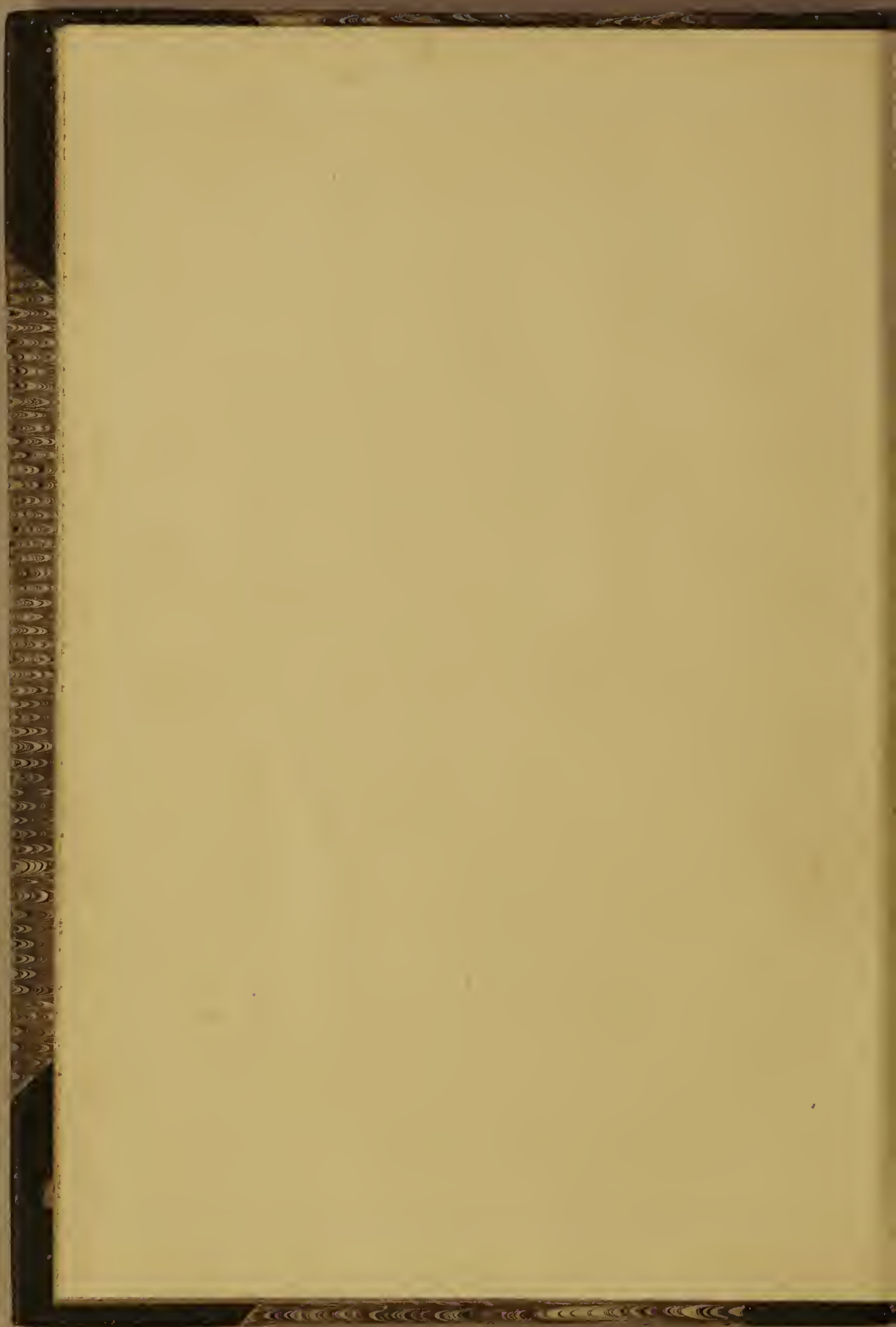
John Carter Brown.













Ernest Hemingway

Paris, France

1958

Gift to Ed

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A Faithful

# NARRATIVE

OF

E B E

The many *Dangers* and *Sufferings*, as well as wonderful and surprizing *Deliverances* of ROBERT EASTBURN, during his late *Captivity* among the INDIANS : Together with some *Remarks* upon the *Country* of CANADA, and the *Religion* and *Policy* of its *Inhabitants* ; the whole intermixed with devout *Reflections*.

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By *Robert Eastburn.*

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*Published at the earnest Request of many Persons, for the Benefit of the Public.*

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With a recommendatory PREFACE, by the  
Rev. GILBERT TENNENT.

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PSALM 124. 6, 7. *Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us up as a Prey to their Teeth ; our Soul is escaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler : The Snare is broken, and we are escaped.*

PSALM 103. 2, 4. *Bless the Lord, O my Soul, and forget not all his Benefits : Who redeemeth thy Life from Destruction ; who crowneth thee with loving Kindness, and tender Mercies.*

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oppo. the Probate-Office in Queen-street. 1758.

# WITNESSES

17

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears from the records of the Court of Sessions of the County of [illegible] State of [illegible] this [illegible] day of [illegible] 18[illegible].

Attest my hand and seal of office this [illegible] day of [illegible] 18[illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]



# P R E F A C E

JOHN CARTER BROWN

Candid Reader,

**T**HE AUTHOR (and Subject) of the ensuing Narrative (who is a Deacon of our Church, and has been so for many Years) is of such an established good Character, that he needs no Recommendation of others, where he is known: A Proof of which, was the general Joy of the Inhabitants of this City, occasioned by his Return from a miserable Captivity! Together with the Readiness of divers Persons, to contribute to the Relief of himself, and necessitous Family, without any Request of his, or the least Motion of that Tendency!—But seeing the following Sheets are like to spread into many Places, where he is not known, permit me to say, That upon long Acquaintance, I have found him to be a Person of Candor, Integrity, and sincere Piety; whose Testimony, may with Safety, be depended upon; which give his Narrative the greater Weight, and may induce to read it with the greater Pleasure; the Design of it is evidently Pious, the Matters contained in it, and Manner of handling them, will, I hope, be esteemed by the Impartial, to be enteraining and improving;

A 2



*improving : I heartily wish it may, by the divine Benediction, be of great and durable Service. I am, thy sincere Servant, in the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST.*

PHILADELPHIA,  
Jan. 19, 1758.

Gilbert Tennent.

Kind READERS,

**O**N my Return from my Captivity, I had no Thoughts of publishing any Observations of mine to the World, in this Manner ; as I had no Opportunity to keep a Journal, and my Memory being broken, and Capacity small, I was disinclined to undertake it ; but a Number of my Friends were pressing in their Perswasions, that I should do it ; with whose Motion I complied, from a sincere Regard to GOD, my King, and Country, so far as I know my own Heart : The following Pages contain, as far as I can remember, the most material Passages that happened within the Compass of my Observation, while a Prisoner in Canada ; the Facts therein related are certainly true, but the Way of representing some Things especially, is not so regular, clear and strong, as I could wish ; but I trust it will be some Apology, that I am not so much acquainted with Performances of this Kind, as many others ; who may be hereby excited to give better Representations of Things. far beyond my Knowledge. I remain,

Your unfeigned Well-Wisher,  
and humble Servant,

PHILADELPHIA,  
Jan. 19, 1758.

Robert Eastburn.





A

## Faithful Narrative, &c.

**A**BOUT Thirty Tradesmen, and myself, arrived at Captain *Williams's* Fort (at the *Carrying-Place*) in our Way to *Oswego*, the 26th of *March*, 1756; who informed me, that he was like to be cumbered in the *Fort*, and therefore advised us to take the *Indian-House* for our *Lodging*. About Ten o'Clock next Day, a Negro Man came running down the Road, and reported, That our *Slaymen* were all taken by the *Enemy*; Captain *Williams* on hearing this, sent a *Serjeant*, and about 12 Men, to see if it was true; I being at the *Indian House*, and not thinking myself safe there, in Case of an Attack, and being also sincerely willing to serve my *King* and *Country*, in the best Manner I could in my present Circumstances, asked him if he would take Company? He replied, with all his Heart! Hereupon, I fell into the Rear, with my Arms, and marched after them; when we had advanced about a Quarter of a Mile, we heard a *Shot*, followed with doleful *Cries* of a *dying Man*, which excited me to advance, in order to discover the *Enemy*, who I soon perceived were prepared to receive us: In this difficult Situation, seeing a large Pine-Tree near, I repaired to it for Shelter;

Shelter ; and while the Enemy were viewing our Party, I having a good Chance of killing two at a Shot, quickly discharged at them, but could not certainly know what Execution was done 'till some Time after ; our Company likewise discharged and retreated : Seeing myself in Danger of being surrounded, I was obliged to Retreat a different Course, and to my great Surprize, fell into a deep Mire, which the Enemy, by following my Track in a light Snow, soon discovered, and obliged me to Surrender, to prevent a cruel Death. (They stood ready to drive their Darts into my Body, in case I refused to deliver up my Arms.) Presently after I was taken, I was surrounded by a great Number, who stripped me of my Cloathing, Hatt, and Neckcloth (so that I had nothing left but a Flannel Vest, without Sleeves) put a Rope on my Neck, bound my Arms fast behind me, put a long Band round my Body, and a large Pack on my Back, struck me on the Head (a severe Blow) and drove me through the Woods before them : It is not easy to conceive, how distressing such a Condition is ! In the mean Time, I endeavoured with all my little remaining Strength, to lift up my Eyes to God, from whom alone I could with Reason expect Relief !

SEVENTEEN or Eighteen *Prisoners*, were soon added to our Number, one of which informed me, that the *Indians* were angry with me, and reported to some of their *Chiefs*, that I had fired on them, wounded one, and killed another ; for which he doubted they would kill me. Hereupon I considered that the Hearts of all Men are in the Hand of God, and that one Hair of our Head cannot fall to the Ground without his Permission : I had not as yet learned what Numbers the Enemy's Parties consisted of ; there being only about 100 *Indians* who had lain in Ambush on the Road, to kill or take into Captivity all that



that passed between the two Forts. Here an Interpreter came to me, to enquire what Strength Capt. *Williams* had to defend his Fort? After a short Pause, I gave such a discouraging Answer (yet consistent with Truth) as prevented their attacking it, and of Consequence the Effusion of much Blood; a gracious Providence, which I desire ever to retain a grateful Sense of; for hereby it evidently appeared, that I was suffered to fall into the Hands of the Enemy, to promote the Good of my Countrymen, to better Purpose than I could, by continuing with them; verily the *Almighty is wise in Council, and wonderful in Working.*

IN the mean Time, the Enemy determined to destroy *Bull's Fort* (at the Head of *Wood Creek*) which they soon effected, all being put to the *Sword*, except five Persons, the *Fort* burnt, the *Provision* and *Powder* destroyed (saving only a little for their own Use) then they retired to the *Woods*, and joined their main Body, which inclusive, consisted of 400 *French*, and 300 *Indians*, commanded by one of the principal *Gentlemen* of *Quebec*; as soon as they got together (having a *Priest* with them) they fell on their Knees, and returned *Thanks* for their *Victory*; an Example this, worthy of Imitation! an Example which may make prophane pretended *Protestants* blush (if they are not lost to all Sense of Shame) who instead of acknowledging a God, or Providence, in their military Undertakings, are continually reproaching him with Oaths and Curses; is it any Wonder, that the Attempts of such are blasted with Disappointment and Disgrace!

THE Enemy had several wounded Men both *French* and *Indians* among them, which they carried on their Backs; besides which, about Fifteen of their Number were killed, and of us about Forty: It being by this Time near dark, and some *Indians* drunk, they only  
marched

marched about 4 Miles and encamped ; the *Indians* untied my Arms, cut Hemlock Bowes, and strewed round the Fire, tied my Band to two Trees, with my Back on the green Bowes (by the Fire) covered me with an old Blanket, and lay down across my Band, on each Side, to prevent my Escape; while they slept.

SUNDAY the 28th, rose early, the *Commander* ordered a hasty Retreat towards *Canada*, for fear of General *Johnson* ; in the mean Time, one of our Men said, he understood the *French* and *Indians* designed to join a strong Party, and fall on *Oswego*, before our Forces there, could get any Provision or Succours ; having, as they thought, put a stop to our relieving them for a Time : When encamped in the Evening, the *Commanding-Officer* ordered the *Indians* to bring me to his Tent, and asked me, by an Interpreter, If I thought General *Johnson* would follow them, I told him, I judged not, but rather thought he would proceed to *Oswego* (which was indeed my Sentiment, grounded upon prior Information, and then expressed to prevent the Execution of their Design.) He farther inquired; what was my Trade ? I told him that of a *Smith* ; he then perswaded me, when I got to *Canada*, to send for my Wife, ‘ for said he, you can get a rich Living there ;’ but when he saw that he could not prevail, he asked no more Questions, but commanded me to my *Indian* Master : Having this Opportunity of Conversation, I informed the *General*, that his *Indian Warriors* had stripped me of my *Cloathing*, and would be glad he would be good enough to order me some Relief ; to which he replied, that I should get Cloaths when I came to *Canada*; which was cold Comfort to one almost frozen ! On my return, the *Indians* perceiving I was unwell, and could not eat their coarse Food, ordered some Chocolate (which they had brought from the *Carrying-Place*)

to



to be boiled for me, and seeing me eat that, appeared pleased. A strong *Guard* was kept every Night; one of our Men being weakened by his Wounds, and rendered unable to keep Pace with them, was *killed* and *scalped* on the Road!—I was all this Time almost naked, travelling through deep *Snow*, and wading through *Rivers* cold as Ice!

AFTER Seven Days March, we arrived at *Lake Ontario*, where I eat some *Horse Flesh*, which tasted very agreeably, for *to the hungry Man*, as *Solomon* observes, *every bitter Thing is sweet (a)*. The *French* carried several of their wounded Men all the Way upon their Backs; many of them wore no Breeches in their Travels in this cold Season, being strong, hardy Men. The *Indians* had three of their Party wounded, which they likewise carried on their Backs, I wish there was more of this *Hardness*, so necessary for *War*, in our Nation, which would open a more encouraging Scene than appears at present! The *Prisoners* were so divided, that but few could Converse together on our March, and (which was still more disagreeable and distressing) an *Indian*, who had a large *Bunch* of green *Scalps*, taken off our Men's Heads, marched before me, and another with a sharp *Spear* behind, to drive me after him; by which Means

B the

*a* On the Friday before we arrived at the *Lake*, the *Indians* killed a *Porcupine*, which is in bigness equal to a large *Racoon*, with short *Legs*, is covered with long Hair, intermixed with sharp *Quills*, which are their *Defence*: It is indeed dangerous coming very near them, because they cast their *Quills* (which are like barbed Irons or Darts) at any Thing that opposeth them, which when they pierce, are not easy to be drawn out; for tho' their *Points* are sharp and smooth, they have a kind of *Beard*, which makes them stick fast: However, the *Indians* threw it on a large Fire, burnt off the Hair and *Quills*, roasted and eat of it, with whom I had a Part.

the *Scalps* were often close to my Face, and as we marched, they frequently every Day gave the *dead Shout*, which was repeated as many Times as there were *Captives* and *Scalps* taken ! In the midst of this gloomy *Scene*, when I considered how many poor Souls were hurried into a vast Eternity, with Doubts of their Unfitness for such a Change, it made me lament and expostulate in the Manner following ; O Sin what hast thou done ! what Desolation hast thou brought into this miserable World ? What am I, that I should be thus spared ? My Afflictions are certainly far less than my Sins deserve ! Through the exceeding Riches of divine Goodness and Grace, I was in this distressing Situation supported and comforted, by these Passages of sacred Scripture, *viz. That our light Afflictions, which last but for a Moment, shall work for us a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.* And that, though *no Afflictions are for the present joyous, but grievous ; yet nevertheless, they afterwards yield the peaceable Fruits of Righteousness, to them who are exercised thereby.* And farther, that *all Things shall work together for Good, to them that love God ; to them who are the Called, according to his Purpose.* But to return,

I MAY, with Justice and Truth observe, That our *Enemies* leave no Stone unturned to compass our ruin ; they pray, work, and travel to bring it about, and are unwearied in the Pursuit ; while many among us *sleep* in a *Storm*, that has laid a good Part of our Country desolate, and threatens the Whole with Destruction : O that we may be of good Courage, and play the Man, for our People, and the Cities of our God ! But alas, I am obliged to turn my Face towards cold *Canada*, among inveterate *Enemies*, and innumerable *Dangers* ! O Lord, I pray thee, be my Safe-guard ; thou hast already covered me  
in



in the Hollow of thy Hand ; when *Death* cast Darts, all around me, and many fell on every Side, I beheld thy Salvation !

*April 4th*, SEVERAL *French Battoes* met us, and brought a large Supply of Provision ; the Sight of which caused great Joy, for we were in great Want ; then a Place was soon erected to celebrate *Mass* in, which being ended, we all went over the Mouth of a River, where it empties itself into the East-End of *Lake Ontario*, a great Part of our Company set off on Foot towards *Oswegotchy* ; while the rest were ordered into *Battoes*, and carried towards the Entrance of *St. Lawrence* (where that River takes its Beginning) but by reason of bad Weather, Wind, Rain, and Snow, whereby the Waters of the Lake were troubled, we were obliged to lie-by, and halt our *Battoes* on Shore ; here I lay on the cold Shore two Days. *Tuesday* set off, and entered the Head of *St. Lawrence*, in the Afternoon ; came too late at Night, made Fires, but did not lie down to sleep ; embarked long before Day, and after some Miles Progress down the River, we saw many Fires on our Right-Hand, which were made by the Men who left us, and went by Land, with them we staid till Day, and then again embarked in our *Battoes*, the Weather was very bad (it snowed fast all Day) near Night arrived at *Oswegotchy* ; I was almost starved to Death, but hoped to stay in this *Indian Town* till warm Weather ; slept in an *Indian Wigwam*, rose early in the Morning (being *Thursday*) and soon to my Grief discovered my Disappointment ! Several of the Prisoners had leave to tarry here, but I must go 200 Miles farther down Stream, to another *Indian Town* ; the Morning being extreemly cold, I applied to a *French Merchant* (or *Trader*) for some old *Rags* of Cloathing, for I was almost naked, but to no Purpose !

ABOUT

ABOUT Ten o'Clock, was ordered into a *Battoe*, on our Way down the *River*, with 8 or 9 *Indians*, one of which was the Man wounded in the Skirmish before mentioned; at Night we went on Shore, the Snow being much deeper than before, we cleared it away, and made a large Fire; here, when the wounded *Indian* cast his Eyes upon me, his old Grudge revived, took my *Blanket* from me, and commanded me to *dance* round the *Fire* Bare-foot, and *sing* the *Prisoners Song*, which I utterly refused; this surprized one of my fellow Prisoners, who told me they would put me to *Death* (for he understood what they said) he therefore tried to persuade me to comply, But I desired him to let me alone, and was through great Mercy, enabled to reject his Importunity with Abhorrence! The *Indian* also continued urging, saying, you shall dance and sing; but apprehending my Compliance sinful, I determined to persist in declining it at all Adventures, and to leave the Issue to the divine Disposal! The *Indian* perceiving his Orders disobeyed, was fired with Indignation, and endeavoured to *push* me into the *Fire*, which I leapt over, and he being weak with his Wounds, and not being assisted by any of his Brethren, was obliged to desist: For this gracious Interposure of *Providence*, in preserving me both from *Sin* and *Danger*, I desire to bless God while I live!

FRIDAY Morning, was almost perished with Cold. *Saturday*, proceeded on our Way and soon came in Sight of the upper Part of the Inhabitants of *Canada*; here I was in great Hopes of some Relief, not knowing the Manner of the *Indians*, who do not make many *Stops* among the *French*, in their Return from *War*, till they get *Home*: However when they came near some rapid Falls of Water, one of my fellow Prisoners, and several *Indians*, together with myself, were put on Shore, to travel



vel by Land, which pleased me well, it being much warmer running on the *Snow*, than lying still in the *Battoe*; we past by several *French Houses*, but stopt at none; the Vessel going down a rapid Stream, it required haste to keep Pace with her, we crossed over a Point of Land, and found the *Battoe* waiting for us, as near the Shore as the Ice would permit: Here we left *St. Lawrence*, and turned up *Conasadauga River* (*b*), but it being frozen up, we hauled our *Battoe* on Shore, and each of us took our Share of her Loading on our Backs, and marched towards *Conasadauga* an *Indian Town*, which was our designed Port, but, could not reach it that Night: Came to a *French House*, cold, weary, and hungry; here my old Friend, the wounded *Indian*, again appeared, and related to the *Frenchman*, the Affair of my refusing to *dance*, who immediately assisted the *Indian* to strip me of my  
*Flannel*

*b* The River *St. Lawrence*, at *Lake Ontario*, takes its Beginning through several *Islands*, by which we are in no necessity of coming within Sight of *Frontenac*, when we go down the River; it is smooth Water from thence to *Oswegotchy* (or as it is called by the *French* *LEGALET*) but from hence to *Montreal*, the Water is more swift, with a Number of rapid Streams, though not dangerous to pass through with small Boats and Bark Canoes, provided the Stearsmen are careful and acquainted with the Places; in transporting Provision and warlike Stores up Stream from *Canada* to *Lake Ontario*, there is a necessity of unloading *Battoes* at several of the rapid Streams, and hauling them empty through shoal Water near the Shore; and carrying the Loading by Land to where the Water is more slack; though there be several of those Places, yet the Land-Carriage is not very far: The Land on both Sides the River appears fertile a great Part of the Way from the *Lake* to *Montreal*; but the nearer the Latter the worse, more mirey and stony: The *Timber* is *White Pine*, *Asb*, *Maple*, *Hickory*, *Beach*, *Hemlock*, *Spruce*; and from the *Lake* about 150 Miles down plenty of *White Oak*, but none at *Montreal* of that Kind.

*Flannel Vest*, before mentioned, which was my All : Now they were resolved to compel me to *dance* and *sing* ! The *Frenchman* was as violent as the *Indian*, in promoting this Imposition ; but the Women belonging to the House, seeing the *rough Usage* I had, took pity on me, and rescued me out of their Hands, till their Heat was over, and prevailed with the *Indian* to excuse me from Dancing ; but he insisted that I must be shaved, and then he would let me alone ( I had at that Time a long *Beard*, which the Indians hate ) with this Motion I readily complied, and then the *Indians* seemed content.

SUNDAY, *April 11th*, Set off towards *Conasadauga*, traveled about two Hours, and then saw the *Town* over a great River, which was still frozen ; the *Indians* stopped, and we were soon joined with a Number of our own Company, which we had not seen for several Days : The *Prisoners*, in Number Eight, were ordered to lay down our *Packs*, and be *painted* ; the wounded *Indian* painted me, and put a Belt of Wampum round my Neck, instead of the *Rope* which I had wore 400 Miles. Then set off towards the *Town* on the Ice, which was four Miles over ; our Heads were not allowed to be covered, lest our fine Paint should be hid, the Weather in the mean Time very cold, like to freeze our Ears ; after we had advanced nearer to the *Town*, the *Indian* Women came out to meet us, and relieved their Husbands of their *Packs*.

As soon as we landed at *Conasadauga*, a large Body of *Indians* came and encompassed us round, and ordered the *Prisoners* to *dance* and *sing* the *Prisoners Song*, (which I was still enabled to decline) at the Conclusion of which, the *Indians* gave a Shout, and opened the Ring to let us run, and then fell on us with their Fists, and knocked several down ; in the mean Time, one ran before to direct



us to an *Indian* House, which was open, and as soon as we got in, we were beat no more; my Head was sore with beating; and pained me several Days. The *Squaws* were kind to us, gave us boiled Corn and Beans to eat, and Fire to warm us, which was a great Mercy, for I was both cold and hungry: This Town lies about 30 Miles North-West from *Montreal*, I staid here till the Ice was gone, which was about Ten Days, and then was sent to *Cobnewago*, in Company with some *Indians*, who when they came within Hearing, gave Notice by their Way of Shouting, that they had a *Prisoner*, on which the whole Town rose to welcome me, which was the more distressing, as there was no other *Prisoner* in their Hands; when we came near Shore, a stout *Indian* took hold of me, and hauled me into the Water, which was Knee deep, and very cold: As soon as I got a-shore, the *Indians* gathered round me, and ordered me to dance and sing, now when I was stiff with Cold and Wet, and lying long in the Canoe; here I only stamped to prepare for my Race, and was encompassed with about 500 *Indians*, who danced and sung, and at last gave a Shout, and opened the Circle; about 150 young Lads made ready to Pelt me with Dirt and gravel Stones, and on my setting off gave me a smart Volley, without my suffering great Hurt; but an *Indian* seeing me run, met me, and held me fast, till the Boys had stored themselves again with Dirt and small Stones, and let me run; but then I fared much worse than before, for a small Stone among the Mud hit my Right-Eye, and my Head and Face were so covered with the Dirt, that I could scarce see my Way; but discovering the Door of an *Indian* House standing open, I run in: From this Retreat I was soon hauled, in order to be pelted more; but the *Indian* Women being more merciful interposed, took me into a House, brought me Water to wash, and gave me  
boiled

boiled Corn and Beans to eat. The next Day, I was brought to the Center of the Town, and cried according to the *Indian* Custom, in order to be sent to a Family of *Indians*, 200 Miles up Stream, at *Oswegotchy*, and there to be adopted, and abused no more : To this End, I was delivered to three young Men, who said I was their Brother, and set forward on our Way to the aforesaid Town, with about 20 more *Indians*, but by reason of bad Weather, we were obliged to encamp on a cold, stony Shore, three Days, and then proceeded on ; called at *Conasadauga*, staid there about a Week, in which Time, I went and viewed four Houses, at a distance from the Town, about a Quarter of a Mile from each other ; in which, are represented in large *Paint-Work*, the *Sufferings* of our *Saviour*, with Design to draw the *Indians* to the *Papist's Religion* ; the Work is curiously done : A little farther stands three Houses near together, on a high Hill, which they call *Mount Calvary*, with three large Crosses before them, which compleats the whole Representation : To all these Houses, the Priests and *Indians* repair, in performing their grand Processions, which takes up much Time \*.

SET

\* The Pains the *Papists* take to propagate such a bloody and absurd Religion as theirs, is truly amazing ! This brings to my Remembrance, the following Discourse, I had with two *French* Priests in my Captivity ; one of them asked me, if I was a Catholic ; apprehending he meant the *Romish Religion*, I answered no ; he replied, no Bon. On my relating the above to a fellow Prisoner, he said, I had answered wrong, because by the Word *Catholic*, he meant a *Christian* : Some Time after, I was again, asked by the other Priest, if I was a *Catholic*, I answered yes, but not a *Roman Catholic* ; at which he smiled, and asked if I was a *Lutheran*, I replied no ; he again inquired whether I was a *Calvinist*, I told him I was : to which he said, with warmth, *no Bon ! no Bon !* which signifieth, it is not good ! O ! may not the Zeal of



SET off on our *Journey* for *Oswegotchy*, against a rapid Stream, and being long in it, and our Provision growing short, the *Indians* put to Shore a little before Night ; my Lot was to get Wood, others were ordered to get Fires and some to Hunt ; our Kettle was put over the Fire with some pounded Indian Corn, and after it had boiled about two Hours, my oldest Indian Brother, returned with a She-Beaver, big with Young, which he soon cut to Pieces, and threw into the Kettle, together with the *Guts*, and took the four young Beavers, whole as they came out of the Dam, and put them likewise into the Kettle, and when all was well boiled, gave each one of us a large Dishful of the Broth, of which we eat freely, and then Part of the old Beaver, the Tail of which was divided equally among us, there being eight at our Fire ; the Four young Beavers were cut in the Middle, and each of us got Half a Beaver ; I watched an Opportunity to hide my Share (having satisfied myself before that tender Dish came to Hand) which if they had seen, would have much displeased them. The other *Indians* caught young *Musk-Rats*, run a Stick through their Bodies, and roasted, without being skinned or gutted, and so eat them. Next Morning hastened on our Journey, which continued several Days, till we came near *Oswegotchy*, where we landed about three Miles from the Town, on the contrary Side of the River ; here I was to be adopted, my *Father* and *Mother* that I had never seen before were waiting, and ordered me into an *Indian House*, where we were directed to sit down silent for a considerable Time, the *Indians* appeared very sad, and my *Mother* began to cry, and continued crying aloud for some Time, and then

C

dried  
of *Papists*, in propagating *Superstition* and *Idolatry*, make *Protestants* ashamed of their Luke-warmness, in promoting the *Religion* of the *Bible* !

dried up her Tears, and received me for her Son, and took me over the River to the *Indian* Town ; the next Day I was ordered to go to *Mafs* with them, but I refused once and again, yet they continued their Importunity several Days, saying it was good to go to *Mafs*, but I still refused ; and seeing they could not prevail with me, they seemed much displeased with their new Son (*d*). I was then sent over the River, to be employed in hard Labour, as a Punishment for not going to *Mafs*, and not allowed a Sight of, or any Conversation with my Fellow-Prisoners ; the old *Indian* Man that I was ordered to work with, had a Wife, and some Children, he took me into the Woods with him, and made Signs that I must chop, giving me an Ax, the *Indian* soon saw that I could handle the Ax : Here I tried to reconcile myself to this Employ, that they might have no Occasion against me, except concerning the Law of my God ; the old Man began to appear kind, and his Wife gave me Milk and Bread when we came Home, and when she got Fish, gave me the Gills to eat, out of real Kindness ; but perceiving I did not like them, gave me my own choice, and behaved lovingly ! Here I saw that God could make Friends of cruel Enemies, as he once turned the Heart of angry *Eſqu* into Love and Tenderneſs ; when we had finished  
our

*d* When I was at *Oſwegotchy*, the *Indians* took Notice, that I frequently retired alone, and ſuppoſing I had ſome bad Deſign, threatned if I did not deſiſt, they would *Tomhawk* me ; but my fellow Priſoner, who underſtood their Language, told them it would be a pity to hurt me on that Account, for I only went into a private Place to pray ! which was true ; the *Indians* replied, if ſo it was good ; but being yet ſuſpicious, took Pains by watching to find out how the caſe was, and when they ſatiſfied themſelves, ſeemed pleaſed ! and did not offer to interrupt me any more, which was a great Mercy ; as the Contrary would have in ſome Degree, marred my Converſe with God.



our Fence, which had employed us about a Week, I shewed the old *Squaw* my *Shirt* (having worn it from the Time I was first taken Prisoner, which was about seven Weeks) all in *Rags, Dirt, and Lice*; she said it was not good, and brought me a new one, with ruffled Sleeves (saying that is good) which I thankfully accepted. The next Day they carried me back to the *Indian Town*, and admitted me to converse with my Fellow-Prisoners, who told me we were all to be sent to *Montreal*, which accordingly came to pass.

MONTREAL, at our Arrival here, we had our Lodging first in the *Jesuit's Convent*, where I saw a great Number of Priests, and People that came to Confession; after some stay, we were ordered to attend, with the *Indians*, at a grand Council, held before the head General *Vaudriol*; we Prisoners sat in our Rank (surrounded with our Fathers and Brethren) but were asked no Questions: The General had a Number of Officers to attend him in Council, where a noted Priest, called *Picket*, sat at his Right-Hand, who understands the *Indian Tongue* well, and does more Hurt to the *English*, than any other of his Order in *Canada*, (his Dwelling is at *Oswegotchy*). Here I was informed that some Measures were concerted to destroy *Oswego*, which they had been long preparing to execute; we in our Journey met many *Battoes* going up Stream, with Provision and Men for an Attack on our Frontiers, which confirmed the Report: The Council adjourned to another Day, and then broke up. My *Indian* Father and Mother took me with them to several of their old Acquaintance, who were *French*, to shew them their lately adopted Son; these Persons had been concerned with my Father and other *Indians*, in destroying many *English* Families in their younger Days; and (as one standing by who understood their Language, said.)

were



were boasting of their former *Murders* ! After some Days the *Council* was again called, before which, several of the *Oneida Chiefs* appeared, and offered some Complaints against the *French's* attacking our *Carrying-Place*, it being their Land ; but the *General* laboured to make them easy and gave them sundry Presents of Value, which they accepted (*e*) : After which, I knowing these *Indians* were acquainted with Captain *Williams*, at the *Carrying-Place* sent a *Letter* by them, to let my Family and Friends know that I was yet alive, and longed for *Redemption* ; but it never come to Hand. The Treaty being ended, the *General* sent about ten Gallons of *red Wine* to the *Indians*, which they divided among us ;  
after

*e* The *French* in *Canada*, well knowing the great Importance of having the *Indians* in their *Interest*, to promote their ambitious and unjust Designs, use a variety of Methods with them, among which, the following one is excellent in itself, and well worthy of Imitation, *viz.* They are exceeding careful to prevent *spirituous Liquors* being sold to the *Indians*; and if any of the *Inhabitants* are proved guilty of it, their temporal *Interest* is quite broke, and corporal Punishment inflicted on them ; unless the *General*, on some particular Occasion, orders his *Commissioners* to deliver some to them. I may add, that knowing their Number is small, compared with the *British Inhabitants* on this *Continent*, and must quickly fall into their Hands, in case we united, and entered boldly into the Heart of their *Country* with a *sufficient Force* ; for that very Reason, they choose to keep us continually on the *Defensive*, by sending when Occasion requires, large Bodies of Regulars, together with a great Number of *Indians*, upon long and tedious *Marches*, that we may not come near their *Borders* ; and especially by employing the Latter, constantly to waste and ravage our *Frontiers*, by which we are murdered by Inches, and beat without a battle ! By what I could learn when I was among them, they do not fear our Numbers, because of our unhappy *Divisions*, which they deride, and from them, strongly expect to conquer us entirely ! which may a gracious God in Mercy, prevent !

after came the *Presents*, consisting of *Coats*, *Blankets*, *Shirts*, *Skins* (to make *Indian Shoes*) *Cloth* (to make *Stockings*) *Powder*, *Lead Shot*, and to each a *Bag* of *Paint* for their own Use, &c. After we *Prisoners* had our Share, my *Mother* came to me with an Interpreter, and told me I might stay in the Town, at a Place she had found for me, if I pleased (this was doubtless the Consequence of my declining to obey her Orders, in some Instances that affected my Conscience) this Proposal I almost agreed to ; but one of my fellow Prisoners, with whom I had before some Discourse about making our *Escape*, from the *Indian Town*, opposed the Motion, and said, ‘ pray do not stay, for if you do, we shall not ‘ be able to form a Plan for our Deliverance ;’ on which I told her I chose to go Home with her, and soon set off by Land in our Way thither, to *Lascheen*, distant from *Montreal* about 9 Miles, where we left our Canoes, and then proceeded, without Delay, on our Journey ; in which I saw to my *Sorrow*, great Numbers of *Soldiers*, and much *Provisions*, in Motion towards *Lake Ontario*.

AFTER a painful and distressing Journey, we arrived at *Oswegotchy*, where we likewise saw many *Battoes*, with *Provisions* and *Soldiers*, daily passing by in their Way to *Frontenac*, which greatly distressed me for *Oswego* ! Hence I resolved, if possible, to give our People Notice of their Danger : To this End, I told two of my Fellow-Prisoners, that it was not a Time to *sleep*, and asked if they would go with me, to this they heartily agreed ; but we had no Provision, were closely eyed by the Enemy, and could not lay up a Stock out of our Allowance : However, at this Time, Mr. *Picket* (before mentioned) had concluded to dig a large Trench round the Town ; I therefore went to a *Negro*, the principal Manager of  
this



this Work (who could speak *English, French, and Indian*, well) and asked him, if he could get Employ for two others, and myself, which he soon did ; for which we were to have *Meat and Wages*. Here we had a Prospect of procuring Provision for our Flight ; this, I in some Time effected for myself, and then asked my Brethren if they were ready, who replied they were not yet, but said, *Ann Bowman*, our fellow Prisoner, had brought 130 Dollars from *Bull's Fort*, and would give them all they had Need of, I told them it was not safe to disclose such a Secret to her, but they blamed me for my Fears, and applied to her for *Provision*, letting her know our Intention, who immediately informed the *Priest* of it : on which we were apprehended, the *Indians* apprised of our Design, and a *Court* called ; by Order of which, four of us were confined in a Room under a strong Guard within the Fort, for several Days.

FROM hence, another and myself were sent to *Cohnewago*, under a strong Guard of 60 Indians, to prevent my plotting any more against the *French*, and banish all Hope of any Escape ! However, when we arrived at this Place, it pleased God, who has the Hearts of all Creatures in his Hand, to incline the *Captain* of the *Guard*, to shew me great Kindness, in giving me Liberty to walk or work where I pleased, within any small Distance ; on which I went to work with a *French* Smith, for six Livers and five Souse per Week ; which the Captain let me have to myself, and farther favoured me with the Privilege of Lodging at his Mother's House, an *English* Woman (named *Mary Harris*, taken Captive when a Child, from *Deerfield*, in *New-England*) who told me she was my Grand-mother, and was kind ; but the Wages being small, and not sufficient to procure such Cloathing as I was in Want of, I proceeded no farther with the *French* Smith,

but



but went to my Uncle *Peter*, and told him I wanted Cloaths, and that it would be better to let me go to *Montreal*, and work there, where I could Cloath myself better, than by staying with him, and that without any Charge to him, who after some Reasoning consented.

SET off on my Journey to *Montreal*, and on my entering the City met an *English* Smith, who took me to work with him ; after some Time, we settled to work in a Shop, opposite to the General's Door, where we had the Opportunity of seeing a great Part of the Forces of *Canada* (both Soldiers and *Indians*) who were commonly brought there, before their going out to War ; and likewise all *Prisoners*, by which Means we got Intelligence how our People were preparing for Defence ; but no good News from *Oswego*, which made me fear, knowing that great Numbers of *French* were gone against it, and hearing of but few to defend it. Prayers were put up in all the Churches of *Canada*, and great Processions made, in order to procure Success to their Arms, against poor *Oswego* ; but our People knew little of their Danger, till it was too late : Certainly, if more frequent and earnest Application (both in private and public) was made to the *God of Battle*, we might with greater Probability expect, Success would crown our military Attempts ! To my Surprise, the dismal News came, that the *French* had taken one of the *Oswego* Forts : In a few Hours, in Confirmation of this, I saw the *English* Standards (the melancholy Trophy of Victory) and the *French* rejoicing at our Downfall, and mocking us poor Prisoners, in our Exile and Extremity, which was no great Argument either of Humanity, or true Greatness of Mind ; great Joy appeared in all their Faces, which they expressed by loud Shouts, firing of Cannon, and returning Thanks in their Churches ; but our Faces were covered with Shame, and  
our

our Hearts filled with Grief !—Soon after, I saw several of the *Officers* brought in Prisoners in small Parties, and the *Soldiers* in the same Manner, and confined within the Walls, in a starving Condition, in order to make them Work, which some complied with, but others bravely refused ; and last of all came the *Tradesmen*, among whom was my *Son* who looking round saw his *Father*, who he thought had long been *dead* ; this joyful Sight so affected him, that he wept !—nor could I, in seeing my *Son*, remain unconcerned !—no ; the Tenderneſs of a *Father's* Bowels, upon ſo Extraordinary an Occaſion, I am not able to expreſs, and therefore muſt cover it with a Vail of Silence !—But he, with all my *Philadelphia* Friends, being guarded by *Soldiers*, with fixed Bayonets, we could not come near each other, they were ſent to the common Pound ; but I haſtened to the Interpreter, to try if I could get my Child at Liberty, which was ſoon effected ! When we had the Happineſs of an Interview, he gave me ſome Information of the State of our Family, and told me, as ſoon as the News were ſent home, that I was killed, or taken, his Mother was not allowed any more Support from my Wages, which grieved me much, and added to my other Afflictions (*f*) !

WHEN

*f* In the mean Time, it gave me ſome Pleaſure, in this Situation, to ſee an Expreſſion of equal *Duty* and *Prudence* in my *Son's* Conduct ; who, though young in Years (about 17) and in ſuch a confuſed State of Things, had taken care to bring, with much Labour and Fatigue, a large *Bundle* of conſiderable Value to me, it being *Cloathing*, &c. which I was in great Need of ; he likewiſe ſaved a Quantity of *Wampum*, which we brought from *New-York*, and afterwards ſold here, for 150 Livers. He travelled with me Part of the Journey towards *Oſwego*, but not being ſo far on his Way, as I was when taken, he did not then fall into the Enemy's Hands, but continued free till *Oſwego* was taken



WHEN the People taken at *Oswego*, were setting out on their Way to *Quebec*, I made Application for Liberty to go with them ; but the Interpreter replied, that I was an *Indian* Prisoner, and the General would not suffer it, till the *Indians* were satisfied ; and as they lived Two Hundred Miles from *Montreal*, it could not be done at that Time : Finding that all Arguments, farther on that Head, would not avail, because I was not included in the *Capitulation* ; I told the Interpreter, my Son must go and

D  
ken, and was then remarkably delivered from the Hands of the *Indians*, in the following Manner, 15 young *Lads* were drafted out to be delivered to them ( which from their known Custom, it is reasonable to conclude, was to fill up the Number they had lost in the Battle ) among which he was one : This *barbarous Design*, which, is contrary to *Laws of War*, among all *civilized Nations*, the *French* artfully concealed, under the Pretext of sending them to work in the *Battoes* ; but my Child taking Notice, that all that were chosen were *small Lads*, doubted their real Intention was bad, and therefore slipped out of his *Rank* and concealed himself, by which Means, under God, he was preserved from a State of perpetual *Captivity* ; his Place being filled up in his Absence, the other unhappy Youths were delivered up a *Sacrifice* to the *Indian Enemy*, to be instructed in *Papish Principles* and employed in *Murdering* their *Countrymen* ; yea, perhaps their *Fathers* and *Brethren*, O horrible ! O lamentable ! How can the *French* be guilty in cold Blood, of such prodigious Iniquity ? Besides their insatiable Thirst of Empire, Doubtless the Pardons they get from their *Pope*, and their *Priests*, embolden them, which brings to my Mind, what I saw when among them : On a Sabbath Day, perceiving a great Concourse of People at a *Chapel*, built on the Commons, at some Distance from the *City*, I went to see, what was the Occasion, and found a kind of a *Fair* at which were sold *Cakes*, *Wine*, *Brandy*, &c. I likewise saw many *Carts* and *Chaises* attending, the *Chapel* Doors in the mean Time open, Numbers of People going in and out, and a *Board* hanging over the Door, on which was written, in large Letters  
INDULGENCE PLENARY, or FULL PARDON.



and leave me ! in order to be ready at *Quebec* to go Home, when the *Oswego* People went, which probably would be soon ; he replied, ‘ It would be better to keep him with me, for he might be a Mean to get me clear much sooner.’

THE Officers belonging to *Oswego*, would gladly have had me with them, but found it impracticable ; this is an Instance of Kindness and Condescension, for which I am obliged ! Captain *Bradley*, gave me a good Coat, Vest, and Shirt ; and a young Gentleman, who formerly lived in *Philadelphia*, gave Four Pistoles (his Name is *James Stone*, he was Doctor at *Oswego*.) These generous Expressions of Kindness and Humanity, I am under great Obligations to remember with affectionate Gratitude, and if ever it be in the Compass of my Power, to requite : This Money, together with what my Son brought, I was in Hopes would go far towards procuring my Release, from my *Indian* Masters ; but seeing a Number of Prisoners in sore Distress, among which were the Captains *Grant* and *Shepherd*, and about Seven more in Company, I thought it my Duty to relieve them, and commit my Release to the Disposal of Providence ! Nor was this suffered to turn to my Disadvantage in the Issue, for my Deliverance was brought about in due Time, in another, and unexpected Way. This Company informed me of their Intention to Escape, accordingly I gave them all the Help in my Power, saw them clear of the Town, on a Saturday Evening, before the Centries were set at the Gates, and advised them not to part from each other, and delivered to Captain *Shepard* two Pocket Compasses ; but they contrary to this Counsel parted, and saw each other no more : By their separating, Captain *Grant*, and Serjeant *Newel*, were deprived of the Benefit of a Compass ; the other Part got safe to Fort *William Henry*, as I was informed by Serjeant *Henry*, who was brought in Prisoner, being

being taken in a Battle, when the gallant, indefatigable Captain *Rogers* made a brave Stand, against more than twice his Number ! But I have not heard any Account of Captain *Grant* ! Was enabled, through much Mercy, to continue communicating some Relief to other Prisoners, out of the Wages I received for my Labour, which was 40 Livers per Month !

IN the latter Part of the Winter, Coal and Iron were so scarce, that it was difficult to get any more Work ; I then offered to Work for my Diet and Lodging, rather than be thrust into a stinking Dungeon, or sent among the *Indians* : The Interpreter took some Pains (which I thankfully acknowledge) but without Success ; however, as I offered to work without Wages, a *Frenchman* took me and my Son in upon these Terms, till a better Birth presented ; here we staid one Week, but heard of no other Place, then he offered me and my Son, 30 Livers per Month, to strike and blow the Bellows, which I did for about two Months, and then was discharged, and travelled about from Place to Place, having no fixed Abode, and was obliged to lay out the small Remains of my Cash, in buying a little Victuals, and took a Hay-Loft for my Lodging : I then made my Case known to the kind Interpreter, and requested him to consider of some Means for my Relief, who replied he would ; in the mean Time, as I was taking a Walk in the City, I met an *Indian* Prisoner, that belonged to the Town where my Father lived, who reported, that a great Part of the *Indians* there, were just come, with a Resolution to carry me back with them ; and knowing him to be a very honest Fellow, I believed the Truth of it, and fled from the Town to be concealed from the *Indians* ; in the mean while, Schemes were formed for an Escape, and



well prosecuted : The Issue of which was fortunate. General *Vaudriel*, gave me and my Son, Liberty (under his Hand) to go to *Quebec*, and work there at our Pleasure, without Confinement, as Prisoners of War ; by which Means, I was freed from paying a Ransom !

The *Commissary* Monsieur *Partwe*, being about to set off for *Quebec*, my Son informed me that I must come to Town in the Evening, a Passage being provided for us ; I waited till near Dark, and then entered the Town, with great Care to escape the Indians, who kept watch for me (and had done so for some Time) which made it very difficult and dangerous to move ; however as they had no Knowledge of my Son, he could watch their Motions, without their Suspicion (the Providence of God is a great Deep, this Help was provided for my Extremity, not only beyond my Expectation, but contrary to my Design.) In the Morning, upon seeing an *Indian* set to watch for me, over against the House I was in, I quickly made my Escape, through the back Part of the House, over some high Pickets, and out of the City, to the River Side, and fled ! A Friend knowing my Scheme for Deliverance, kindly assisted me to conceal myself : The *Commissary* had by this Time got ready for his Voyage, of which my Son giving me Notice, I immediately, with no lingering Motion, repaired to the Boat, was received on board, set quite off undiscovered, and saw the *Indians* no more ! A very narrow and surprizing Escape, from a violent Death ! For they had determined to kill me, in case I ever attempted to leave them, which lays me under the strongest Obligations, to improve a Life rescued from the Jaws of so many Deaths, to the Honour of my gracious Benefactor !-But to return, the  
Commissary



Commissary upon seeing the Dismission I had from the General, treated us courteously! (g)

ARRIVED at *Quebec*, May 1st, The Honorable Colonel PETER SCHUYLER, hearing of my coming there, kindly sent for me, and after enquiries about my Welfare, &c. generously told me I should be supplied, and need not trouble myself for Support! This public-spirited Gentleman, who is indeed an Honour to his Country, did in like Manner, nobly relieve many other poor Prisoners at *Quebec*!---Here I had full Liberty to walk where I pleased, and view the City, which is well situated for Strength, but far from being impregnable.

HERE, I hope, it will not be judged improper, to give a short Hint of the *French* Governor's Conduct; even in Time of Peace, he gives the *Indians* great Encouragement to Murder and Captivate the poor Inhabitants on our Frontiers; an honest good Man, named *William Ross*, was taken Prisoner twice in the Time of Peace; when he was first taken, he learned a little of the *French* Language, was after some Time redeemed, and got to his Place of Abode: Yet some Years after, he, with two Sons, was again taken, and brought to *Quebec*; the Governor seeing the poor Man was lame, and one of his Legs smaller than the other, reproved the *Indians* for not killing

g Saw many Houses and Villages in our Pass along the River *St. Lawrence* towards the Metropolis; and here it may with Justice be observed, that the Inhabitants of *Canada* in general, are principally (if not wholly) settled upon Rivers, by reason that their back Lands being flat and swampy, are therefore unfit to bear Grain. Their Wheat is sown in the Spring of the Year, because the Winter is long, and would drown it; they seem to have no good Notion of making Meadow (so far as I had an Opportunity of observing) their horned Cattle are few and poor, their Living in general mean, they eat but little Flesh, nevertheless they are strong and hardy.

killing him, asking, ' what they brought a lame Man there for, who could do nothing but eat ! you should, said ' he, have brought his Scalp !' However, another of his Countrymen, more merciful than his Excellency, knowing the poor Prisoner to be a quiet, hard-working Man, redeemed him from the Indians ; and two other *Frenchmen* bought his two Sons : Here they had been Slaves more than three Years, when I first arrived at *Quebec* ; this Account I had from Mr. *Ross* himself, who farther added, that the Governor gave the Indians Presents, to encourage them to proceed, in that kind of Work, which is a Scandal to any civilized Nation, and what many Pagans would abhor ! Here also, I saw one Mr. *Johnson*, who was taken in a Time of Peace, with his Wife and three small Children ( his Wife was big with Child of a Fourth, and delivered en the Road to *Canada*, which she called *Captive* ) all which had been Prisoners between three and four Years, several young Men, and his Wife's Sister, were likewise taken Captive with them, and made Slaves !

Our Cartel being ready, I obtained Liberty to go to *England* in her ; we set Sail the 23<sup>d</sup> of *July*, 1757, in the Morning, and discharged our Pilot about 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon ; after which we neither cast Anchor or Lead, till we got clear of the great River *St. Lawrence* from which I conclude, the Navigation is much safer then the *French* have reported ; in 28 Days we arrived at *Plymouth*, which occasioned great Joy, for we were ragged, lowly, sick, and in a Manner, starved ; and many of the Prisoners, who in all were about 300 in Number, were sick of the Small-Pox : My Son and Self, having each a Blanket Coat (which we bought in *Canada* to keep us warm) and now expecting Relief, gave them to two poor sick Men, almost naked ! But as we were not allowed to



go on Shore, but removed to a King's Ship, and sent to *Portsmouth*, where we were still confined on board, near two Weeks, and then removed to the *Mermaid*, to be sent to *Boston*; we now repented our well meant, though rash Charity, in giving our Coats away, as we were not to get any more, all Application to the Captain for any Kind of Covering being in vain; our Joy was turned into Sorrow, at the Prospect of coming on a cold Coast, in the Beginning of Winter, almost naked, which was not a little increased, by a near View of our Mother Country, the Soil and Comforts of which, we were not suffered to touch or taste (*b*).

September the 6th, SET Sail for *Boston*, with a Fleet in Convoy, at which we arrived on the Seventh of *November*, in the Evening, it being Dark, and we Strangers, and

*b* On board the *Mermaid* Man of War being in a distressed Condition, and hearing little from the Mouths of many of my Countrymen, but Oaths and Curses (which much increased my Affliction,) and finding it difficult to get a retired Place I crept down into the Hold among the Water Casks, to cry to God; here the Lord was graciously pleased to meet with me, and give me a Sense of his fatherly Love and Care; here he enabled me (blessed be his Name for ever) to look back and view how he had led me, and guarded me with a watchful Eye and strong Arm, and what Pains he had taken to wean me from an over-love of time, and Things, and make me content that he should choose for me: Here I was enabled to see his great Goodness in all my Disappointments, and that Afflictions were not Evidences of God's Wrath, but the Contrary, to all that honestly endeavour to seek him with Faith and Love; here I could say, God is worthy to be served, loved, and obeyed, though it be attended with many Miseries in this World! What I have here mentioned, so far as I know my Heart, is neither to exalt myself, or offend any one upon Earth, but to glorify God, for his Goodness and Faithfulness to the meanest of his Servants, and to encourage others to trust in him!



and poor, it was difficult to get a Lodging ( I had no Shoes, and but Pieces of Stockings, and the Weather in the mean Time very Cold) we were indeed directed to a *Tavern*, but found cold Entertainment there, the Master of the House seeing a ragged and lowly Company, turned us out to Wander in the Dark ; he was suspicious of us; and feared we came from *Halifax*, where the *Small-Pox* then was, and told us, he was ordered not to receive such as came from thence : We soon met a young Man, who said he could find a Lodging for us, but still detained us by asking many Questions ; on which I told him we were in no Condition to answer, till we came to a proper Place, which he quickly found, where we were used well-; but as we were lowly, could not expect Beds.

The next Morning, we made Application for Cloathing; Mr. *Erving*, Son-in-Law to the late General *Shirley*, gave us Relief, not only in respect of Apparel, but also Three Dollars per Man, to bear our Charges to *Newport* : When I put on fresh Cloaths, I was seized with a cold Fit, which was followed by a high Fever, and in that Condition obliged to travel on Foot, as far as *Providence*, in our Way to *Rhode-Island* (our Money not being sufficient to hire any Carriage, and find us what was needful for Support :) In this Journey, I was exceedingly distressed ! Our Comforts in this Life, are often allayed with Miseries which are doubtless great Mercies when they are suitably improved ; at *Newport*, we met with Captain *Gibbs*, and agreed with him for our Passage to *New-York*, where we arrived, *November 21st*, met with many Friends, who expressed much Satisfaction at our Return, and treated us kindly, particularly Messrs. *Livingston*, and *Waldron*.

*November 26th, 1757.* ARRIVED at *Philadelphia*, to the great Joy of all my Friends, and particularly of  
my

my poor afflicted Wife and Family, who thought they should never see me again, till we met beyond the Grave ; being returned, sick and weak in Body, and empty handed, not having any Thing for my Family's and my own Support, several humane and generous Persons, of different Denominations, in this City (without any Application of mine, directly or indirectly) have freely given seasonable Relief ; for which, may God grant them Blessings in this World, and in the World to come everlasting Life, for Christ's Sake !

Now God in his great *Mercy*, hath granted me a *temporal Salvation*, and what is a Thousand Times better, he hath given me with it, a Soul satisfying Evidence of an *eternal* one in the World to come !

AND now, what shall I render to the Lord for all his Benefits, alas I am nonplust ! O that Saints and Angels might praise thee, for I am not worthy to take thy Name into my Mouth ! Yet notwithstanding, thou art pleased to accept poor Endeavours, because JESUS CHRIST has opened the *Door*, whereby we may come boldly to the Throne of thy Grace, praised be the *Lord God Jehovah*, by Men and Angels, throughout all Eternity !

BUT to hasten to the Conclusion, suffer me with Humility and Sorrow to observe, that our *Enemies* seem to make a better Use of a bad *Religion*, than we of a *good One* ; they rise up long before Day in Winter, and go through the Snow in the coldest Seasons, to perform their Devotions in the Churches : which when over, they return to be ready for their Work as soon as Day Light appears : The *Indians* are as *zealous* in *Religion*, as the *French*, they oblige their Children to pray Morning and Evening particularly at *Conasadauga* ; are punctual in performing their stated Acts of

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Devo-



*Devotion* themselves, are still and peaceable in their own Families, and among each other as Neighbours !

WHEN I compared our Manner of Living with theirs, it made me fear that the righteous GOD (who is wont to make Judgment begin at his own House first) was about to deliver us into their Hands, to be severely punished for our Departure from him ; how loeg has he waited for our Return, O that we may therefore turn to him, before his Anger break out into a Flame, and there be no Remedy.

OUR Case appears to me indeed very Gloomy ! notwithstanding our Enemies are inconsiderable in Number, compared with us ; yet they are united as one Man, while we may justly be compared to a *House divided against itself*, and therefore cannot stand long, in our present Situation.

MAY Almighty GOD, graciously incline us to look to him for Deliverance, to repent of our Sins, reform our Lives, and unite in the vigorous and maply Use of all proper Means to this End. AMEN.

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F I N I S.

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PART I. *A Delineation of the ruling Manners and Principles.—The Design.—Of the Spirit of Liberty.—Of the Spirit of Humanity.—Of the civil Administration of Justice.—Of the ruling Manners of the Times.—Of the Principles of Religion, Honour, and public Spirit.*

PART II. *Of the public Effects of these Manners and Principles.—What constitutes the Strength of a Nation.—Of the national Capacity.—Of the national Spirit of Defence.—Of the national Spirit of Union.—Of the Consequences of National Disunion.—An Objection drawn from the Manners of the French Nation, considered.—Of the most probable Tendency of these Effects.*

PART III. *Of the Sources of these Manners and Principles.—Of a general Mistake on this Subject.—Of the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth on Manners.—Of the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth on the religious Principle.—Of their Effects on the Principle of Honour.—Of their Effects on public Spirit.—Farther Remarks on this Subject.—A Review of the Argument.—An Objection considered.—Conclusion.*



1875

1. The first of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured by the drought.

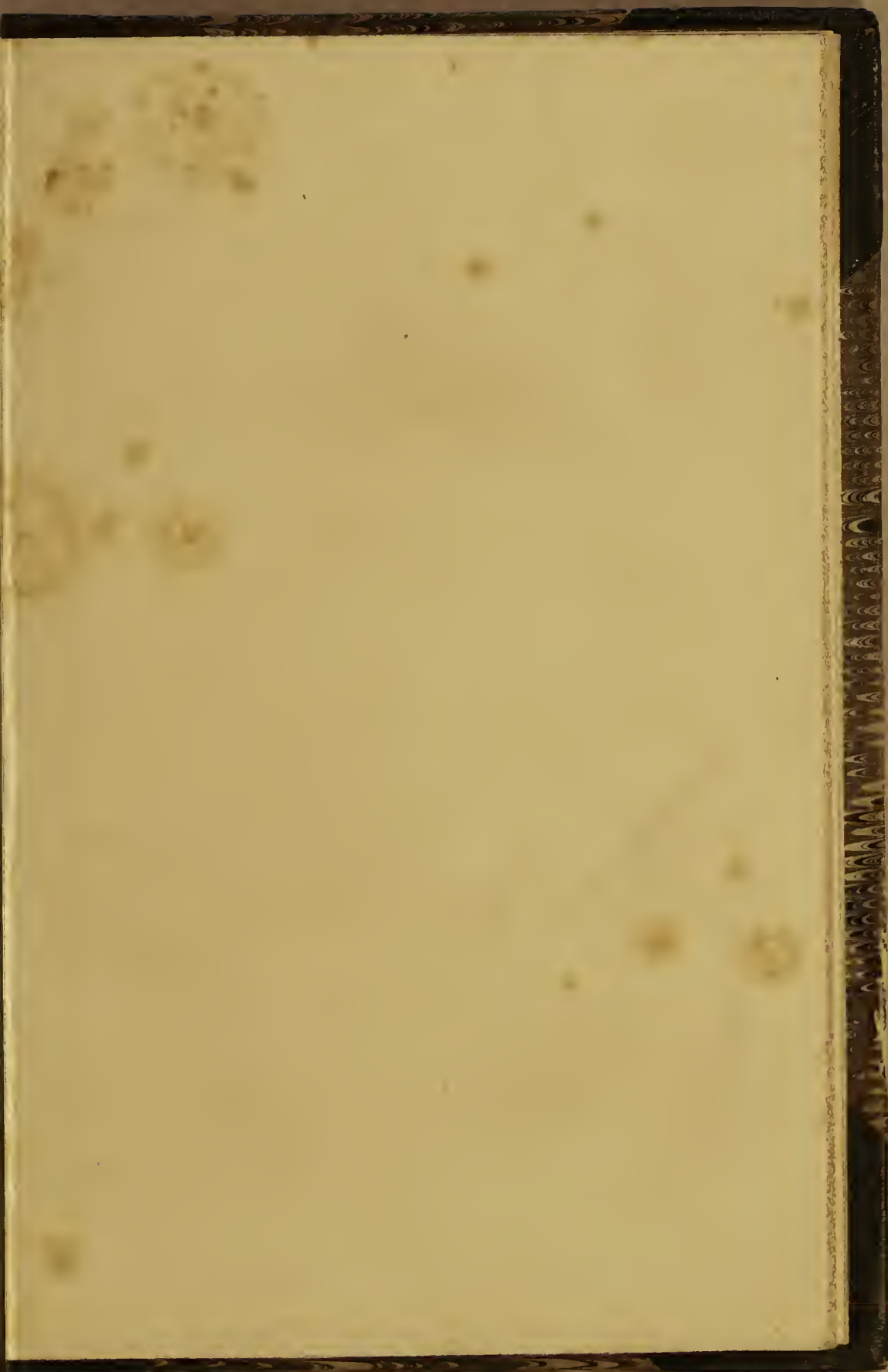
2. The second of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured by the rain.

3. The third of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured by the drought.

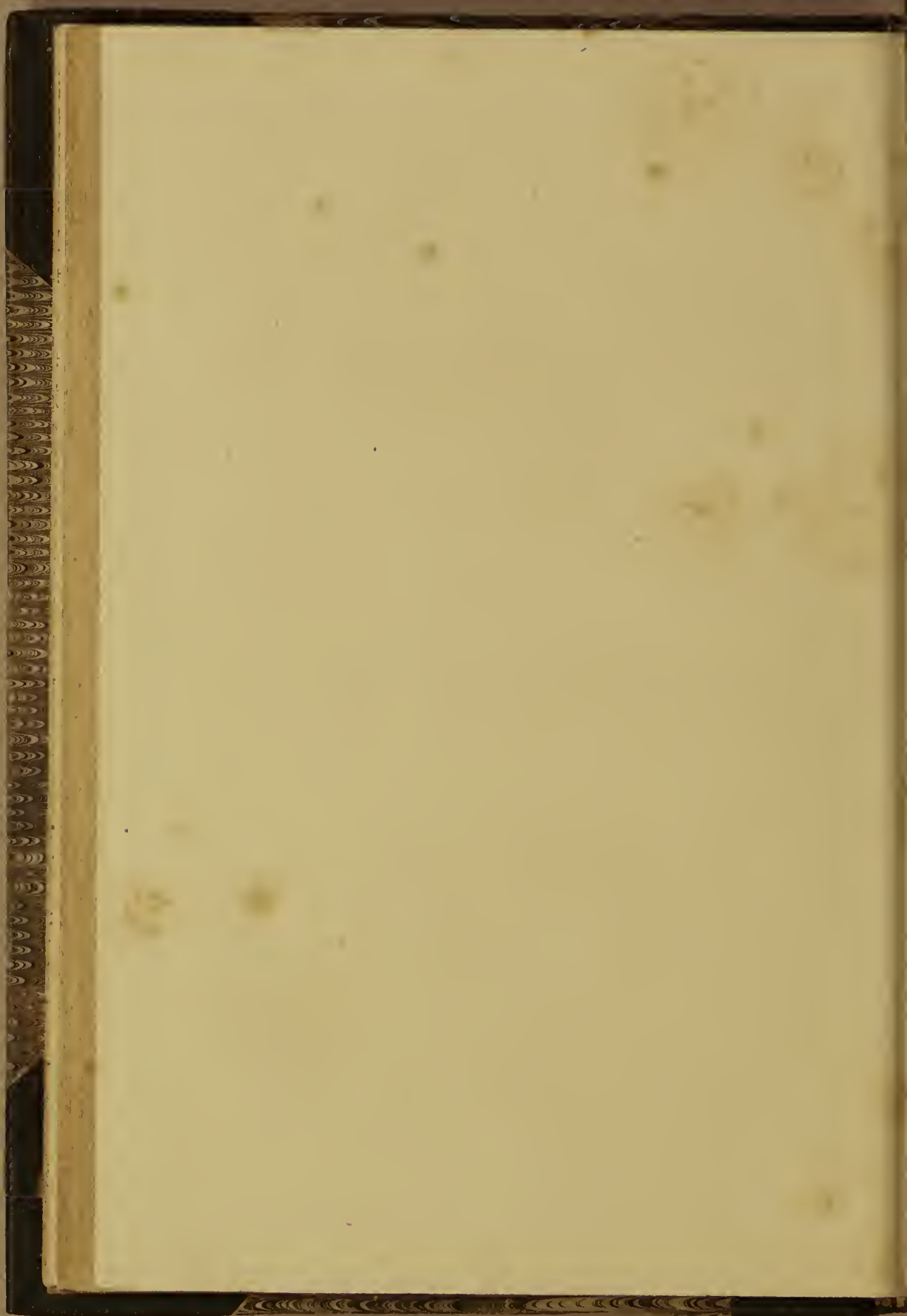
4. The fourth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured by the rain.

5. The fifth of the year was a very dry one, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured by the drought. The weather was very hot, and the crops were much injured by the drought.

6. The sixth of the year was a very wet one, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured by the rain. The weather was very cold, and the crops were much injured by the rain.

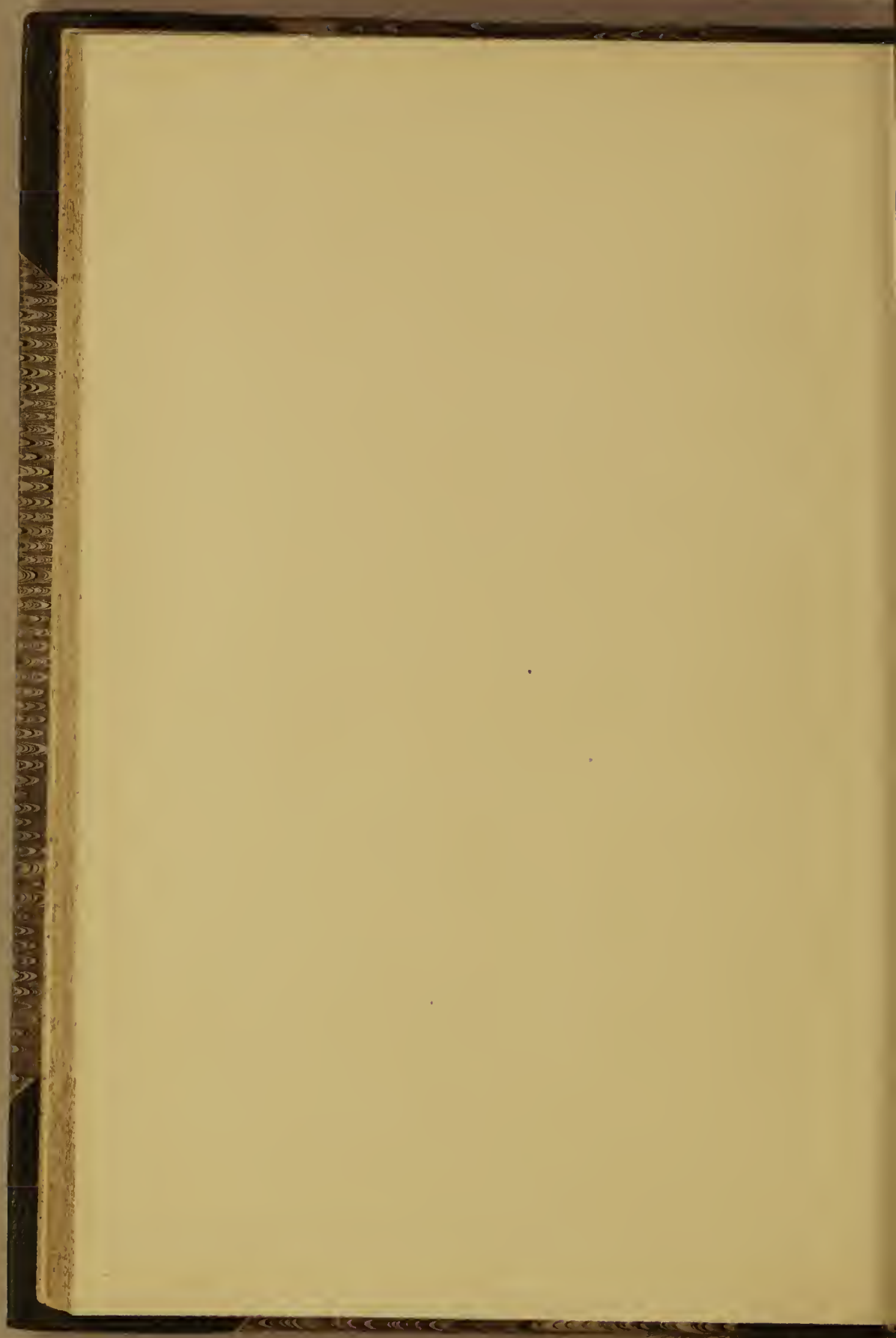












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